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ABSTRACT

Student activism on both the college and secondary school level is briefly discussed. Into this framework are inserted the specific characteristics of the Berkeley, California High School. The data reported here was gathered from questionnaires returned by 293 graduated seniors. Questionnaire items dealt with such timely topics as protests, law and order, and the war in Vietnam. In addition, demographic data, such as political party preference, religious observance, social class, nationality; IQ level, etc., was collected. Results of the study indicate that students who demonstrate for social justice and equality tend to be white and of high ability. In addition, they tend to be politically liberal or radical, to not attend Church, to reside in high socio-economic status areas of the community, and to believe that the outcomes of protests and demonstrations are positive and beneficial. The usefulness of the findings is briefly touched upon. (TL)

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STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS IN A MULTI-RACIAL  
HIGH SCHOOL: THE CASE OF BERKELEY

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## Introduction.

Student activism on college campuses appeared to reach near epidemic proportions across the nation during the late 1960's. The causes and effects of demonstrations brought about by a small number of student protestors have been studied and discussed by many investigators. Leading the list is the President's Commission on Campus Unrest which was appointed in the wake of the shooting incidents on the Kent State and Jackson State campuses in May 1970<sup>(13)</sup>. The Commission was headed by former Pennsylvania Governor William W. Scranton and its report (officially Campus Unrest) was labeled the "Scranton Report" by the popular press.

The Commission concluded that:

...the root causes for what we call campus unrest are exceedingly complex, are deeply planted in basic social and philosophic movements, and are not only nationwide but also worldwide.

Furthermore, it was argued in the Report that a "shift in student culture is a basic--perhaps the basic--contributing cause of campus unrest." This fundamental "shift in student culture" has resulted in the formation of a.

...new youth culture [which] itself is not a 'problem' to which there is a 'solution'; it is a mass social condition, a shift in basic cultural viewpoint.

Unfortunately, the President repudiated the Commission's conclusions even before its study was released to the general public for consideration.

The Commission's report traced the beginnings of contemporary student unrest to the 1964 Free Speech Movement on the Berkeley campus of the University of California and labeled that series of disruptions and similar movements across the nation

"the Berkeley invention." Yet the Free Speech Movement did not arise in a vacuum. A series of confrontations dating from the late 1950's, including demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in San Francisco and against alleged unfair hiring practices of Bay Area employers, attest to the tenacious and pervasive nature of the local "unrest." The Berkeley-Oakland Area, with a Black population of about 150,000, more or less concentrated in a ghetto, has been spared a major disturbance similar to those which took place in other cities during the 1960's. While this may indicate a certain stability, against it must be balanced the fact that Berkeley has housed the national headquarters of the Black Panther Party since its founding in Oakland in 1966. Indeed, many of the social and political tactics of that Party from free breakfasts for school children to shoot-outs with police have been tested locally. Given the regional history of protest and the news media's avid attention to the attendant demonstrations, the protest spirit has had ample opportunity to permeate all sectors of society.

#### Student Unrest in Secondary Schools.

While activism among college students has been given wide and prominent coverage by the press and television, it is not generally known that student activism is also a part of the junior high school and secondary school scene in many communities across the country<sup>(3,7,9)</sup>. A nationwide survey conducted in 1969 by the National Association of Secondary School Principals covering six percent of the nations secondary schools (one in fifteen) revealed that more than half the junior and senior high schools have experienced some form of student protest or demonstration<sup>(8)</sup>. A study

by the Office of Education has reported similar activity<sup>(1)</sup>.

Given the recent history of activism and protest in the San Francisco Bay Area and the rising level of student protest in secondary schools it is of interest to study some of the parameters associated with student protest at Berkeley High School, an integrated three-year secondary school located in the shadow of the university campus which spawned the so-called "Berkeley invention."

#### The Case of Berkeley High School.

As might be expected, Berkeley High School, because of its location in the San Francisco Bay Area, its proximity to the University of California campus, and the general situation in an area which has become a mecca for hippies, transients, and other alienated types, has been the scene of many student demonstrations and classroom disruptions. In fact, over the latter years of the past decade, normal classroom routines and activities have been interrupted by students involved with such topical protests as the Third World Movement, the ecology movement, the Vietnam Day moratorium, the Black Power movement, Women's Liberation, the Grape Boycott in support of unionizing grape pickers, and most recently, the Anti-Cambodian Invasion movement. This last movement so disrupted normal school activities that the administration of Berkeley High School was forced to dismiss classes for several days.

In many ways Berkeley High School is strongly influenced by the University of California which dominates the social, political, and economic life of the City of Berkeley. Physically, the High School is located a scant two city blocks from the western edge of the University campus. The University, because of its

setting and payroll, has contributed to the division of the city along racial and economic lines. Areas bordering the University in the Berkeley Hills have a concentration of bright White students whose parents teach or work at the University, are in the professions, or in management positions. Below the hills resides a non-White population that represents almost one-third of the City's total population. For the most part, this population lives in the flat area that extends from San Francisco Bay to the base of the hills and from the southern city border to the vicinity of the University campus. North of the campus non-Whites thin out and are gradually replaced by Whites.

In addition to the stable population, as if to complicate matters, the University and high school campuses are surrounded by a large student population which reflects the University undergraduate-graduate student ratio of approximately 18,000 and 10,000 respectively, and a floating population of non-students estimated at about 3,000. The undergraduate student body at the University is drawn from the top eighth of California's high school graduates plus a large number of very talented out-of-state students. The activist persuasion of a segment of these University students has been described and interpreted by Feuer<sup>(6)</sup> and in Lipset and Wolin<sup>(10)</sup>.

The non-student population is articulate and activist and in the past has participated in University demonstrations and protests with enthusiasm. It has been described by Whittaker and Watts<sup>(15)</sup>:

...as being alienated from conventional values; it is a protest against society...; it is a reaction against the



dehumanizing influences of modern institutions and a materialistic way of life; it is critical of social hypocrisies and restricted standards; politically, it tends from the independent liberal to the radical left, as well as harboring the politically withdrawn; it is pro-civil rights and pacifistic; in respect to sexual behavior, drug usage, and public conduct and appearance, it is a libertarian society; it appears to be intellectually sophisticated and culturally aware...

Consonant with their level of cultural sophistication is the fact that a large proportion (almost two-thirds) of these non-students are college dropouts. The non-student population of Berkeley also tends to be young with about half of the females and a third of the males aged 20 or younger.

The racial composition of Berkeley is reflected in the student body of Berkeley High School (grades 10, 11, and 12) where, according to the 1970-71 school census, 42.7 percent of the students were reported as White, 44.7 percent as Black, and 12.6 percent as "other," which is mainly students of Japanese and Chinese origin or with Spanish (Mexican-American) surnames<sup>(2)</sup>. In 1960 the racial distribution at Berkeley High School was 61 percent White, 29 percent Black, and 10 percent "other non-Caucasian." Although the issue is not yet decided, schools in the City of Berkeley appear to be in what Weinberg has described as a state of transition from essentially White to predominantly Black<sup>(3)</sup>, a condition which was noted by Coleman<sup>(4)</sup> in 1966. Because of this diverse composition and closeness to the University of California, the student population of Berkeley High School is quite heterogeneous and fragmented both racially and socio-economically. Concomitantly, the Berkeley High School student

body contains a wide range of ability, aspiration, and opinion.<sup>1</sup>

#### Source of Data.

Berkeley integrated (really desegregated) its three junior high schools in 1965. One year later the first cohort of integrated students was surveyed in order to determine student attitudes toward school integration. In the Spring of 1970, when the first cohort of integrated students were ready to graduate from high school, another survey was made in order to learn what changes in attitudes toward integration had occurred during their six years of integrated experience. The data upon which this report is based was collected as a part of that more comprehensive study.

A series of items having to do with such timely topics as protests, law and order, and the war in Vietnam were added to one of the forms of the questionnaire and the results are reported below. In addition to the above topics information was obtained on sex, race, parent's education, attendance at religious services, and political party preference of both students and parents. The school district provided standard scores <sup>(from standardized test)</sup> as measures of ability and achievement.

The instrument for the larger study was to be given in the first week of June 1970 just prior to graduation. The events of May following the Cambodian Invasion and the Kent and Jackson State shootings were causes for protest and demonstration in

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<sup>1</sup>A demographic and ability description of Berkeley's junior high schools in 1965 can be found in Coleman<sup>(4)</sup>. At the time of the Coleman study Berkeley had just completed the integration of its three junior high schools and the cohort studied in this paper was entering seventh grade. DuPree<sup>(5)</sup> gives a journalist's account of Berkeley High School in early 1971.



Berkeley. The generally unsettled situation along with the usual rites of spring and the rituals of approaching graduation argued against the original plan to administer the instrument to students in an assembly or "home room" period. Teachers who had acted as consultants in the drafting of items advised against any mass testing on grounds that attendance would be poor. The only option left was to mail questionnaires to the students' address as available on school records. The original pool of items was divided into three forms and these were mailed during the second week in June 1970.

#### Results.

The basic statistics of this report are shown in Tables One and Two. These statistics are derived from the responses of 293 graduated seniors from Berkeley High School to the following set of questions.

-----Insert Tables One and Two about here-----

What is your sex?      MALE      FEMALE

Which of the following best describes you?

ASIAN    BLACK    CHICANO    WHITE    OTHER (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

What part have YOU taken in the following student protests:

a. Third World Movement?	NONE	INTERESTED BYSTANDER	AN ACTIVE PART	I OPPOSED IT
b. Vietnam Day Moratorium?	NONE	INTERESTED BYSTANDER	AN ACTIVE PART	I OPPOSED IT
c. Ecology movement?	NONE	INTERESTED BYSTANDER	AN ACTIVE PART	I OPPOSED IT
d. Anti-Cambodian war movement?	NONE	INTERESTED BYSTANDER	AN ACTIVE PART	I OPPOSED IT
e. Black Power Movement?	NONE	INTERESTED BYSTANDER	AN ACTIVE PART	I OPPOSED IT



almost 13 percent of the total variability since:

$$\begin{aligned}\hat{\rho}_{\text{race}}^2 &= \hat{\omega}_{\text{race}}^2 = \frac{SS_{\text{race in males}}}{SS_{\text{total}}} + \frac{SS_{\text{race in females}}}{SS_{\text{total}}} \\ &= \frac{70.54}{816.71} + \frac{33.76}{816.71} = .127\end{aligned}$$

As shown by Marascuilo and Timm<sup>(12)</sup>, this represents a source of variance of modest proportions.

Among the males, the mean number of reported protests participated in is given by .5, 1.1, and 2.3 for Asian, Black, and White males. Among the females, the corresponding averages are .8, 1.3, and 2.1. These averages suggest that Asian-American students do not often become involved in protests, while Black high school students are moderate in their protest participation, and White students of both sexes tend to be the most active participants in student demonstrations at the high school level.

If race and sex are ignored, it is seen that IQ is also related to student participation in protests. For the five IQ groups, the between groups  $F = 10.01$ . This represents a statistically significant source of variance since at  $\alpha = .01$ ,  $F_{4,270}(.99) = 3.48$ . For the specific intelligence levels:

$$\hat{\rho}_{\text{IQ}}^2 = \hat{\omega}_{\text{IQ}}^2 = \frac{SS_{\text{IQ}}}{SS_{\text{total}}} = \frac{92.96}{816.71} = .114$$

which indicates that IQ accounts for about 11 percent of the total variance.

For the five IQ groups the mean number of protests is given by 1.3, 1.0, 1.4, 2.0, and 2.7. For these data, the F-ratio for linear trend is given by  $F = 21.76$  which is significant at  $\alpha = .01$ . This suggests that the amount of high school student

protest participation increases with IQ. Except for Asian males and Black females, this same general pattern appears for the remaining race by sex combinations. The F-ratios are significant for male Black, male Whites, and female Asians, but not for male Asians, female Blacks, and female Whites. The lack of significance for female Whites could have resulted from the small slope in the regression line because, as inspection of the sample means suggests, involvement tends to increase with IQ even for them.

Similar analyses were performed upon school achievement measures as well as upon verbal and non-verbal IQ score components of the composite IQ reported above, but since the results are so close to those reported for the IQ measures, they will only be mentioned here. In these analyses, Iowa Tests of Educational Development for Quantitative Thinking and Standardized Reading were substituted for IQ.

A number of other variables which one would expect to relate to student activism in high school were also tested. Results yielded by some of these variables are shown in Tables Three and Four. These analyses are based upon the questions:

-----Insert Tables Three and Four about here-----

How often do you attend religious services?

NEVER      SOMETIMES      OFTEN      REGULARLY

Which political party is liked most by:

Your Father? (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Your Mother? (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Yourself? (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

What is the effect of student protest movements that are non-violent?

THEY DO HARM

THEY DO NEITHER HARM NOR GOOD

THEY DO GOOD

What is the effect of student protest movements that are violent?

THEY DO HARM

THEY DO NEITHER HARM NOR GOOD

THEY DO GOOD

Finally, social class was determined by asking the students to indicate the census tract in which they resided on a map printed on the cover of each questionnaire. Based on a factor analysis performed upon the 1960 census tract data by Marascuilo and Penfield<sup>(11)</sup> the 28 census tracts of Berkeley were divided into low, medium, and high socio-economic strata.

Political party preference of the students themselves is strongly related to degree of participation, with  $F = 14.99$  and  $\hat{\omega}^2 = 16.7$  percent. As might be predicted, students who preferred the political philosophy of the Republican Party state that they did not actively participate in demonstrations. For them, the mean number of demonstrations was .4, whereas students who prefer the Democratic or Peace and Freedom Parties report active participation in demonstrations with means of 1.5 and 2.9 respectively. Clearly, the most active students show allegiance to the political party which is reported to be most active in its demands for political, social, and economic change.

It was possible to make a check on response bias by combining the respondent's mother's and father's political party preferences and comparing them with voter registrations in the City of Berkeley for the November 1970 Congressional election.

It will be seen in Table Five that there is very little difference

-----Insert Table Five About Here-----

between reported parental political party preference and officially recorded voter registrations.

As can be seen, religious attendance is clearly associated with participation in student demonstrations with  $F = 12.54$  and  $\hat{\omega}^2 = 11.5$  percent. Students who report that they never go to church average 2.2 demonstrations while those who go to church on a regular basis average .8 demonstrations.

While the differences across socio-economic strata are statistically significant with  $F = 5.93$  and  $\hat{\omega}^2 = 4.0$  percent, the differences are not large even though they show a monotonic relationship with one another. Students from the low SES census tracts participated in 1.2 demonstrations, those in medium SES census tracts participated in 1.8 demonstrations, while those in the high SES tracts participated in 2.0 demonstrations.

Finally, it is seen that student participation has some slight association with the way students view the outcomes of protest. If they think the outcome is harmful, they have a tendency not to protest, whereas if the outcome is seen as beneficial, then the desire to protest increases. But since the correlations as measured by omega square are relatively low for these variables, the fact that the findings are statistically significant must be viewed with some dispassion.

#### Discussion and Summary.

Student activism in the secondary schools takes many forms and is supported or challenged on many fronts. According to reports and studies conducted in 1969, three out of five school



principals responding to a survey questionnaire sent to one in every fifteen high schools in the United States reported some form of protest in their school. Eighty-two percent reported that school regulations were questioned, 45 percent reported that curriculum and instruction policies and programs were open to attack, and 25 percent reported that student activism focussed on social issues of national and international significance.

In the city of Berkeley, a city which witnessed college student protest movements throughout the 1960's, protest in the high school tended to mirror protest on the larger, more volatile, University campus. As a result, part of the uniqueness of Berkeley High School demonstrations <sup>lack of emphasis</sup> is their nonemphasis on changing school rules and curriculums. In some respects, the Berkeley administration is ahead of most school districts in the minimization or elimination of dress codes and in the adoption of special programs thought to be relevant to education in a contemporary society. According to an article in the Wall Street Journal by Black journalist David DuPree, "...Berkeley High is a place where students most emphatically do their own thing...Berkeley High...represent[s] an extreme example of the kind of 'open' high school that some influential educators see as part of the wave of the future...There is no dress code at Berkeley High...Students often wear hats in class...Identification cards and hall passes, once mandatory have disappeared...300 students [attend the] community high school where students direct the curriculum...[Black students attend] another subschool, off campus, 'black house,' specializing in black studies and closed to white students<sup>(5)</sup>. As these comments suggest, the administration has created a permissive school environ-

ment. Long hair, beards, sideburns, naturals, sandals, beads, flamboyant and Bohemian dress are not discouraged and, indeed, seem to be the rule. Even the selection of classes, teachers, and time periods are left to the individual students. Classes can range from college calculus and Black studies to the traditional high school classes in typing, shorthand, shop, English, geometry, etc. With such individual freedoms already available, it is not surprising that demonstrations and student protests have focussed on problems of the current national and international scene.

Berkeley is also unique in that its student body is overpopulated with bright youngsters. About 80 percent of the Whites and Asians in this graduating class had IQ scores above 100. Combine this high ability with the idealism of youth, superior education and knowledge, and it is no wonder that these students have zeroed in on the alleviation and elimination of social, political, and economic injustices both in the United States and abroad. Forty-two percent have participated in demonstrations opposed to the Vietnam War; 37 percent participated in demonstrations held to save the environment and improve the ecological balance of nature; 29 percent were involved in the grape boycott protests; and 16 percent participated in demonstrations sponsored by Black Power advocates.

The basis for such involvement with social issues requires careful analysis by administrators before corrective action can be taken to benevolently direct these kinds of demonstrations and so see that no harm comes to students, teachers, staff, and the outside community. Without doubt, the reasons for demonstrations vary from school to school so that specific in-school studies are

needed. However, the findings of this study should be of use to administrators in other schools and apply to other demonstrations.

As this study indicates, students who demonstrate for social justice and equality tend to be White and of high ability, tend to associate with the political spectrum best described as liberal or radical as represented by the Democratic and Peace and Freedom Parties. They do not attend church, they generally reside in the high socio-economic status areas of the community, and they believe that the outcomes of protests and demonstrations are positive and beneficial. During their high school careers, Blacks averaged 1.2 demonstrations, while Whites averaged 2.2 demonstrations. Students with IQ's of 84 to 100 averaged 1.0 demonstration. Students with IQ's of 133 or higher averaged 2.7 demonstrations. Those who never attended church participated in 2.2 demonstrations while those who were regular church goers participated in .8 demonstrations. Students who support the politics of the Republican Party attended .4 demonstrations while students who support the politics of the Peace and Freedom party attended 2.9 demonstrations. Students from low SES areas joined 1.2 demonstrations while students from high SES areas attended 2.0. Finally, students who thought that the effects of demonstration were harmful participated in 1.3 demonstrations while students who thought the effects were beneficial attended 2.1 demonstrations.

On the basis of these statistics the nature of the Berkeley student activist concerned with broad social problems is clear. The most active demonstrators are also the most gifted students as measured by standard tests. Since the Berkeley school is extremely free and open, these students are left to their own

devices when it comes to school learning. For them, the open system is effective. They learn their lessons with ease and they learn them well. They remember what they learn and they want to put what they have learned into action. Their superior intelligence and their ability to see that justice and liberty for all is not necessarily working makes them prime targets for radicalization, and since they are free to move about the school at will, they have more opportunities for organizing demonstrations and putting them into effect. Also, when demonstrations occur at the University, it does not take a long time for them to occur on the high school campus. Many students are ready to swing into action at the slightest provocation. This is illustrated by the first paragraph of an essay written by Steve Wasserman, president of Berkeley High School in 1969-70 and founder of the underground paper Pack Rat. "My name is Steve Wasserman. I am president of Berkeley High School in Berkeley, California. I have been in Berkeley since the sixth grade and have been involved in radical activity for the last five years. Since Berkeley has been the center of some of the most radical activity in the country, I naturally have been caught up in it. I have been through all the struggles: the Free Speech Movement, the Vietnam Day Committee, the Troop Train Demonstrations, the Eldridge Cleaver sit-ins, and the People's Park Demonstration<sup>(9)</sup>." All of these demonstrations began at the University and found quick support on the grounds of Berkeley High.

In addition to the correlation that exists between IQ and number of demonstrations attended, Berkeley also illustrates another fact that is related to the frequency of demonstrations. Of the 293 students on which this study is based, 228, or 78 per-

cent have IQ's exceeding 100. Of these, a very high percentage will enter college. Where there are this many intelligent, idealistic young people congregated together, it would seem that demonstrations will occur frequently and that attendance will be enthusiastic.

In addition to the special academic climate existing for bright students at Berkeley High, consideration should be given to the fact that the City of Berkeley has more than its share of both Black and White adults who are politically liberal and in some respects radical. Democrats and radical party groups make up two-thirds of registered voters. That the children of these citizens support liberal causes should come as no surprise. In addition, many teachers hold political views that place them on the left of center. A number of them have participated in peace marches, and have actively campaigned for candidates whose political style and beliefs are to the left, and often to the far left. It would be quite unusual if these activities and beliefs did not make their way into the consciousness and knowledge of their students.

In Berkeley, there is another factor at work that could contribute to student social awareness. Most teachers are dedicated and determined to make the school integration program of Berkeley work. Many are young and idealistic, just like the students they teach. Often they have been hired because they have these traits, and because students find it easier to relate to them in both the academic and nonacademic setting. In fact, many student-teacher interactions are conducted on a first name basis.

Since Berkeley is a college town, one might suspect that religious involvement is not extensive among the educated members



of the community, of which Berkeley has more than its share. If parents tend to be atheist, agnostic, or humanistic in their beliefs, one would expect their children to be of the same philosophical persuasion. It is the students that never attend church that also actively participate the most in demonstrations. It is reasonable to assume that these students see that social justice is in the control of man and not in the hands of a Deity who doles it out after death. Justice and equality are for the living, and perhaps they feel that they can help bring it about by both violent and nonviolent actions.

Finally, it should be noted that student demonstrators are predominantly White. Whites will demonstrate for peace in Vietnam, higher wages for grape pickers, equal rights for women, and will even support the third world movement and Black Power demonstrations. However, Blacks do not reciprocate. The main thrust of their demonstration is aimed at themselves and the Black community.

The findings of this study should be of some assistance in planning strategies to meet the demands of student demonstrators and their leaders, specifically if the demonstrations focus on the problems of the outside community and not upon school regulations and curriculums. There is a high probability that the demonstrators and their leaders will be White, articulate, and intelligent, of good academic standing, live in a middle-class home, have political beliefs that are left of center, be nonchurch goers, and believe that the effects of demonstrations are positive.



Table One. Analysis of Variance for Sex, Race, and Intelligence, Using Number of Protests as the Dependent Variable.

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F-Value	Decision
Sex	1	3.11	3.11	1.34	Not Significant
Race in Males	2	70.54	35.27	15.20	Significant
Race in Females	2	33.76	16.88	7.27	Significant
Between IQ Groups	4	92.96	23.24	10.01	Significant
IQ in Male Asians	3	.42	.14	<1.00	Not Significant
IQ in Male Blacks	3	23.66	7.89	3.40	Significant
IQ in Male Whites	3	22.67	7.56	3.25	Significant
IQ in Female Asians	2	15.57	7.79	3.36	Significant
IQ in Female Blacks	3	11.63	3.88	1.67	Not Significant
IQ in Female Whites	3	9.09	3.03	1.31	Not Significant
Residual	270	626.26	2.32		
Total	292	816.71			

$$\hat{\omega}_{R(M)}^2 + \hat{\omega}_{R(F)}^2 = .086 + .041 = .127 \quad \hat{\omega}_{IQ}^2 = .114$$

Table Two. Table of Means: Mean Number of Protests  
Participated in for Sex, Race, and IQ.

	IQ Groups					Total	N
	≤83	84-100	101-116	117-132	≥133		
Asian Males	-	.5	.6	.3	.7	.5	23
Black Males	0.0	.5	1.8	2.8	-	1.1	30
White Males	-	1.3	1.7	2.3	3.0	2.3	90
Asian Females	-	-	.7	.4	3.5	.8	19
Black Females	2.0	1.2	.7	2.5	-	1.3	44
White Females	-	1.5	1.8	2.2	2.6	2.1	87
Total	1.3	1.0	1.4	2.0	2.7	1.7	
Sample Size	15	50	82	104	42		293

Table Three. Analysis of Variance Tables for Differences in Protest Actions for Religion, Political Preference, SES, and Attitudes Toward Violent and Non-violent Demonstrations.

Variable	Source of Variance	d/f	S of S	MS	F	$\hat{\omega}^2$
Religious Attendance	Between Group	3	94.82	31.61	12.54*	11.5%
	Within Group	289	728.66	2.52		
Political Preference	Between Group	2	59.97	29.98	14.99*	16.7%
	Within Group	149	298.13	2.00		
SES	Between Group	2	31.13	15.57	5.93*	4.0%
	Within Group	288	755.41	2.62		
Effect of Violent Demonstrations	Between Group	2	25.55	12.78	4.65*	3.5%
	Within Group	256	702.85	2.75		
Effect of Non-violent Demonstrations	Between Group	2	17.12	8.56	3.00*	2.0%
	Within Group	271	733.80	2.86		

\*Significant at  $\alpha \leq .05$

Table Four. Mean Number of Protests for the Groups of  
Table Three.

Religious Attendance	Never	Sometimes	Often	Regularly
Mean No. Protests	2.2	1.7	.6	.8
Political Preference	Democrat	Republican	Peace & Freedom	
Mean No. Protests	1.5	.4	2.9	
SES	Low	Medium	High	
Mean No. Protests	1.2	1.8	2.0	
Effect of Violent Protests	They Do Harm	They Do Neither Harm nor Good	They Do Good	
Mean No. Protests	1.5	1.3	2.3	
Effect of Non-violent Protests	They Do Harm	They Do Neither Harm nor Good	They Do Good	
Mean No. Protests	1.2	1.4	1.9	

Table Five. Indicated Political Party Preference of  
Parents of Berkeley High School Senior  
Class Respondents Compared with Official  
Voter Registrations in the City of Berkeley.

	Parents of Respondents (Percent)	Berkeley Voter Registrations* (Percent)
Democratic	70.3	73.1
Republican	22.1	22.0
Peace and Freedom	3.9	4.5
Miscellaneous (excluding "No Response" and "Decline to State")	3.7	.3

\*Source: County Clerk, Alameda County, California.

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